

TRIBUTES TO LINCOLN

DRAWER 10D

SLAVERY ATTITUDE

71.2009 02 04708



Slavery

Attitudes about Slavery

Tributes to Lincoln

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

A MEMORABLE INCIDENT.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE INDEPENDENT :

WASHINGTON, Jan. 3d, 1865.

A scene occurred at the Presidential reception yesterday, that ought not to be allowed to pass unnoticed. Probably one similar was never before witnessed at the White House.

I had noticed at sundry times during the summer the wild fervor and strange enthusiasm which our colored friends always manifest over the name of Abraham Lincoln. His name with them seems to be associated with that of his namesake, the Father of the Faithful. In the great crowds that gather from time to time in front of the White House in honor of the President, none shout so loudly and so wildly, and swing their hats with such utter abandon, while their eyes are beaming with the intensest joy, as do these simple-minded and grateful people. I have often laughed heartily at these exhibitions. But the scene yesterday excited far other emotions. As I entered the door of the President's house, I noticed groups of colored people gathered here and there, who seemed to be watching earnestly the inpouring throng. For nearly two hours they hung around, until the crowd of white visitors began sensibly to diminish. Then they summoned up courage, and began timidly to approach the door. Some of them were richly and gayly dressed, some were in tattered garments, and some of them in the most fanciful and grotesque costume. All pressed eagerly forward. When they came into the presence of the President, doubting as to their reception, the feelings of the poor creatures overcame them, and here the scene is one needing an abler pen than mine to describe.

For nearly two weary hours Mr. Lincoln had been shaking the hands of the "sovereigns," and had become excessively weary and his grasp languid, but here his nerves rallied at the unwonted sight, and he welcomed this motley crowd with a heartiness that made them wild with exceeding joy. They laughed and wept, and wept and laughed, exclaiming, through their blinding tears, "God bless you!" "God bless Abraham Lincoln!" "God bless Massa

Linkum!" Depend upon it, those who witnessed this scene will not soon forget it. For a long distance down the walk, on my way home, I heard fast young men cursing the President for this act; but all the way I kept saying to myself, "God bless Abraham Lincoln!" He has within him a great heart, that feels for his brother man of whatever hue or condition. May the hopes of this down-trodden people soon be realized, and may Abraham Lincoln live to see every yoke broken, and every American citizen rejoicing in the boon of liberty.
H. R. G.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

HIS RELATIONS TO SLAVERY.

SOME REMINISCENCES BY M. D. CONWAY.

Copyright, 1885.

...y is wrong!" These were the first words heard from Abraham Lincoln. I was walking toward on a summer evening in 1859, through Fifth-st. market-place in Cincinnati, along the skirt of a crowd, when those words brought me to a pause. A hiss surged up against the orator, who stood on a balcony, but broke in a laugh when some listener groaned out, "Oh Lord!" "That's a Kentuckian," said Lincoln, with quiet humor, but added more solemnly, "You can't hiss down the walls of justice." I drew near, and listened to some sentences which, in that city, from whose streets slaves could be seen at their toil, impressed me as pure eloquence. When in the next year the famous debate between Lincoln and Douglas appeared as a campaign document, I looked for some of those sentences in vain; they had been parcel away in the political bathos that shaped him into a cautious candidate. I tried to write some of them from memory, but could only feel certain of a few of his expressions. "Be sure that no compromise, no political arrangement with slavery, will be satisfactory or will over last which does not deal with it as a great wrong." "Every man that comes into this world has a mouth to be fed and a back to be clothed; by a notable coincidence every man has two hands; I infer that those hands were meant to feed that mouth and clothe that back; and—mark it, brother Kentuckians!—any institution which interferes with the right of those hands so to do will be sure, sooner or later, to come tumbling about those who uphold it." "There is room for us all to be free. It cannot wrong the white man that the negro should be free, but it does the majority of white men that the negro should not be free." "Douglas's 'great principle,' as he calls it, of Popular Sovereignty amounts to this: if one man chooses to make a slave of another man, neither the enslaved man nor anybody else has a right to object. There is a real principle of Popular Sovereignty—that each man shall do as he pleases with himself, and with all those things that exclusively concern him." I often thought of the impression made upon me that evening by that man, for whom my first vote was cast, and it is now connected in my memory with an anecdote told me some years later by Emerson. After Emerson had delivered a lecture at the Smithsonian, urging the need of emancipation to end the War, he visited the President. Mr. Lincoln extended his hand cordially and said: "Mr. Emerson, I remember having heard you give a lecture in the West some years ago, in which you remarked that every Kentuckian has an air about him which seems to say, 'Here I am; if you don't like me, so much the worse for you!' He seemed to me, like Browning's hero, 'three parts sublime to one grotesque,' out there in the moonlight, handling a half-cavilling crowd with fine art and infinite good humor."

In January, 1862, I went to Washington to give a lecture at the Smithsonian Institution, and visited the President in company with the late William Henry Channing, then minister of the Unitarian Church in Washington. Mr. Sumner prepared our way, and our appointment was at 8 in the morning. In the ante-room there was a woman with a little child, who now and then went; the President saw her first, and she came out radiant. No doubt some prisoner was that day released. Mr. Channing having begun by expressing his belief that the opportunity of the Nation to rid itself of slavery had arrived, Mr. Lincoln asked how he thought they might avail themselves of it. Channing suggested emancipation with compensation for the slaves. The President said he had for years been in favor of that plan. When the President turned to me, I asked whether we might not look to him as the coming Deliverer of the Nation from its one great evil. What would not that man achieve for mankind who should free America from slavery? He said: "Perhaps we may be better able to do something in that direction after a while than we are now." I said: "Mr. President, do you believe the

masses of the American people would hail you as their deliverer if, at the end of this War, the Union should be surviving and slavery still in it?" "Yes—if they were to see that slavery was on the downhill." I ventured to say: "Our fathers compromised with slavery because they thought it on the downhill; hence war to-day." The President said: "I think the country grows in this direction daily, and I am not without hope that something of the desire of you and your friends may be accomplished. When the hour comes for dealing with slavery I trust I shall be willing to do my duty, though it costs my life. And, gentlemen, lives will be lost." These last words were said with a smile, yet with a sad and weary tone.

During the conversation Mr. Lincoln recurred several times to Channing's suggestion of pecuniary compensation for emancipated slaves, and expressed profound sympathy with the Southerners who, by no fault of their own, had become socially and commercially bound up with their peculiar institution. I remember with what simplicity he had addressed the Southerners, in his speech at Cincinnati,—"We mean to remember that you are as good as we; that there is no difference between us other than the difference of circumstances. We mean to recognize and bear in mind that you have as good hearts in your bosom as any other people, or as we claim to have, and trust you accordingly." Being a Virginian myself, with many dear relatives and beloved companions of my youth in the Confederate ranks, I responded warmly to his kindly sentiments toward the South, albeit feeling more angry than he seemed to be against the institution preying upon that land like a ghoul. I forget whether it was on this occasion or on a subsequent one when I was present that he said, in parting: "We shall need all the anti-slavery feeling in the country, and more; you can go home and try to bring the people to your views; and you may say anything you like about me, if that will help. Don't spare me!" This was said with some laughter, but still in earnest.

It was in July of that year (1862) that I learned at Cincinnati, where I resided, that the negroes belonging to my father were wandering homeless about the woods and camps of Stafford, Virginia. Hastening to Washington, I begged permission of Secretary Stanton to pass through the lines of the Potomac Army, with freedom to search for the negroes and bring them to the District of Columbia. Mr. Stanton did not like that more negroes should be imported into the District, and raised other objections. In the end I appealed to the President. He warned me of the dangers of the journey, which had been fully considered, and then became nervous lest the incident should have some public effect. The relations of the Administration with the slaveholding Border States were daily becoming more strained. It was about this time that the motto of Dr. Furness became proverbial—"The President would like to have God on his side, but he must have Kentucky." It was plain to me that Mr. Lincoln had become as anti-slavery at heart as Garrison himself, and was glad to do a bit of service in that direction in a quiet way. I remember well his glee in telling the story of a fellow in Maine, a thirsty soul who found he could only get liquor from a druggist; as his robust appearance forbade the plea of sickness, he called for soda, "and," he whispered to the druggist, "couldn't you put a drop o' the creeter into it, unbeknownst to yourself." This little drop of abolitionism was just what my case required, and the authorization to proceed to headquarters on the Rappahannock was given. I was so grateful for this that when afterward the difficult question arose, how the negroes could be taken to Ohio, I resolved not to trouble Mr. Lincoln with the matter if it could be helped. I knew also that he was somewhat anxious about the incident, and had reason to be; for smallest sparks are dangerous amid such combustible materials as Maryland then contained. At a consultation held in the rooms of Senator Sumner an old Congressman declared that the only way in which the negroes could be safely carried past the Baltimore mob was to chain them together and scourge them with a

cowhido. However, Secretary Chaso secured me authority to call on General Wool, in Baltimore, for military protection, and we passed through with

nothing worse than a good fright from a threatening crowd, now of whites and next of suspicious blacks.

The next glimpse I had of the President was on the evening of January 25, 1863. It was in company of a number of anti-slavery men chiefly from Boston (where I was then editing *The Commonwealth*), who feared that the President had fallen into the hands of reactionists and that his Edict of Emancipation might be rendered ineffectual. While to the slave had gone out a paper proclamation, which he might not be able to read, the epaulet proclamation was still rather on the side of his master. For a time the negroes did not stir from their plantations. The Abolitionists were no doubt too impatient,—the Proclamation had not been out a month,—but still they realized the importance that the President's great instrument should be intrusted to its friends and not to its foes. At length some North Carolinians, who, long secretly opposed to slavery, had now formed an association to make their State free, denounced the Carolinian appointed by Mr. Lincoln to be Military Governor over the recovered portions of that region, declaring that he thwarted their efforts for freedom with all his power. The severe criticisms directed against the President on this ground no doubt savored somewhat of panic. Emerson, near whom I resided in Concord, never lost his faith in Mr. Lincoln's honesty and justice, and it was largely owing, I think, to suggestions from him that a consultation was held in Boston at which those present agreed to go to Washington and talk over the situation with the President. We arrived on the 23d (January, 1863), put up at Willard's (where Wendell Phillips, J. H. Stebbens and myself had to occupy one room), and on the following evening (Saturday) repaired to the White House by appointment. The President, however, was called out by Secretary Stanton and could not see us. Of course we suspected a manoeuvre on the part of the Secretary against "that Boston set," as we heard ourselves called; but Mr. Lincoln promptly arranged to see us the following evening. In the meantime Wendell Phillips had managed to secure an interview with Mrs. Lincoln which had put him in good spirits, for he found her by no means friendly to certain persons near the President whose influence he (Phillips) distrusted. The President met us laughing like a boy, saying that in the morning one of his children had come to inform him that the cat had kittens, and now another had just announced that the dog had puppies, and the White House was in a decidedly sensational state. Some of our party looked a little glum at this hilarity; but it was pathetic to see the change in the President's face when he presently resumed his burden of care. We were introduced by Senator Wilson, who began to speak of us severally, whom Mr. Lincoln said he knew perfectly who we were, and requested us to be seated. Nothing could be more gracious than his manner, or more simple. The persons present during the interview were Senator Wilson, Wendell Phillips, Francis W. Bird, Elizer Wright, J. H. Stebbens, George L. Stearns, Oakes Ames and myself. The conversation was introduced by Wendell Phillips, who, with all his courtesy, expressed our gratitude and joy at the Proclamation of Emancipation, and asked him how it seemed to him to be working. The President said that he had not expected much from it at first, and consequently had not been disappointed; he had hoped, and still hoped, that something would come of it after awhile. Phillips then alluded to the deadly hostility which the Proclamation had naturally excited in pro-slavery quarters, and gently hinted that the Northern people, now generally anti-slavery, were not satisfied that it was being honestly carried out by all of the Nation's agents and generals in the South. "My own impression, Mr. Phillips," said the President, "is that the masses of the country generally are only dissatisfied at our lack of military successes. Defeat and failure in the field make everything seem wrong." His face was now clouded, and his next words were somewhat bitter: "Most of us here present have been nearly all our lives working in minorities, and may have got into a habit of being dissatisfied." Several of those present had deprecated this, the President said: "At any rate it has been very rare that an opportunity of 'running' this Administration has been lost." To this Mr. Phillips answered in his sweetest voice: "If we see this Administration earnestly working to free the country from slavery and its rebellion, we will show you how we can 'run' it into another four years of power." The President's good-humor was restored by this, and he said: "Oh, Mr. Phillips, I have ceased to have any personal feeling or expectation in that matter.—I do not say I never had any,—so abused and borne upon as I have been." "Nevertheless, what I have said is true," replied Phillips, who then went on to submit our complaint against Military Governor Stanley (an old politician of North Carolina), urging the necessity of having in such positions men who were heart and soul in favor of his (the President's) declare-

policy of emancipation. The facts communicated to us from North Carolina were also submitted. The President was evidently aware of them and did not deny them. He only said that Stanley was

in Washington when the Proclamation of September 22, 1862, was issued announcing that an Edict of Emancipation would be issued on the following New Year's Day for all States that had not laid down their arms, "and that he (Stanley) then said he 'could stand that.'" "Stand it!" exclaimed one of our number. "Might the Nation not expect in such a place a man who cannot merely stand its President's policy but rejoice in it?" This made the President a little retractile, and he said: "Well, gentlemen, I have got the responsibility of this thing, and must keep it." "Yes, Mr. President," interposed Phillips, "but you must be patient with us, for if the ship goes down it doesn't carry down you alone; we are all in it." "Well, gentlemen," said the President, bowing pleasantly to Phillips in acknowledgment of the justice of his remark, "whom would you put in Stanley's place?" Some one asked if it would not be better to have nobody there than an active opponent of the President's avowed policy. Another suggested Fremont, then without any command, as a substitute for Stanley,—Fremont being the natural representative of a Proclamation of Emancipation which he had anticipated in Missouri. "I have great respect for General Fremont and his abilities," said the President slowly, "but the fact is that the pioneer in any movement is not generally the best man to carry that movement to a successful issue. It was so in old times—wasn't it?" he continued with a smile. "Moses began the emancipation of the Jews, but didn't take Israel to the Promised Land after all. He had to make way for Joshua to complete the work. It looks as if the first reformer of a thing has to meet such a hard opposition, and gets so hattered and bespattered, that afterward, when people find they have to accept his reform, they will accept it more easily from another man." The wit and philosophy of this remark was appreciated by us all. We urged, however, that Fremont could hardly be considered a pioneer reformer, and referred to the general welcome given by the loyal press to Fremont's proclamation of emancipation in Missouri. The President said he did not believe that the Northern people taken as a whole regarded that proclamation with favor. In the course of our further conversation the President reminded us that he had been elected by a minority of the American people, and said he felt convinced that his Administration would not have been supported by the country, at any earlier stage of the war, in a policy of emancipation. Even now, if he should place prominent abolition Generals at the front, he did not see what they could do with the slaves, should these come in large numbers. "All I can say now is that I believe the Proclamation has knocked the bottom out of slavery, though at no time have I expected any sudden results from it." One of those present warned the President that if the course of military events should not be favorable between that time and the election, the following year might witness the return of a power which could put the bottom in again, or try to do so, and his great work so faithfully begun be overthrown; which would not merely mean a restoration of slavery but of disunion,—for never again could there be a Union with slavery. We then rose to leave, and expressed to the President our thanks for his kindly reception and for his attention to statements of which some were naturally not welcome. The President bowed graciously at this and after saying he was happy to have met gentlemen known to him by distinguished services, if not personally, and glad to listen to their views, added: "I must bear this load which the country has intrusted to me as well as I can, and do my best." He then shook hands affably with each of us.

His ear was always set to the Capitol; but the Republican politicians there were preparing for approaching campaigns, and did not wish to commit themselves publicly to any adverse criticism of a President who had become their inevitable leader. Consequently our anti-slavery delegation returned home with a conviction that the practical success of the Emancipation Proclamation was by no means certain in the hands of its author; and that a determined pressure from the North was absolutely needed on a man so notably combined by birth and marriage of all sectional elements and accessible to influences from all parties. Yet we were all profoundly impressed by the powerful personality of the man, by his genius and character, and carried away with us the conviction that Washington had never held a man more just and more capable of patriotic self-sacrifice than Abraham Lincoln.

Soon after the death of Lincoln I was conversing with John Stuart Mill, who said of the dead President: "That was the kind of man Carlyle in his better days taught us to worship as a hero."

MORCURE D. CONWAY.

EMANCIPATED TWO RACES.

Advance Under the Guidance of His Inspiration in Education of Poor Whites in the South.

By General O. O. Howard.

I am happy to feel that I was always his friend and defender, even when some of my comrades in the service in 1861 were disposed to make sport of him and to call him hard names. Early he became my beau ideal of a political leader—in fact, when I began reading his speeches or extracts from his debates with Douglas prior to his first election to the Presidency in 1860. His arguments were clear and cogent, and his conclusions, to candid minds, irresistible. It is a marvel how he brought men together and formed a political force that carried through the mighty conflict. Surely Lincoln was raised up by him who knoweth all hearts for that purpose.

The last time I saw Mr. Lincoln he led me to the frame that held his charts and pulled down the large government map of the two States, Tennessee and Kentucky. He put his finger on that spot where we are now trying to establish a memorial institution to his name—Cumberland Gap—and thrilled me as he told me of the character of the mountain people. His idea was that they were strongly, in favor of the union; that we might somehow seize Knoxville and deliver them from the thralldom of the confederacy; and that all Tennessee would be ours when that was done. The people of the mountains—thousands and thousands of them—suffered excessively during the entire period of the war, being driven hither and thither by the several contending armies. When the freedmen and refugee law was passed by Congress in the winter of 1864-'65, I am sure Mr. Lincoln inspired those words "loyal refugees," meaning those mountain people of whom he spoke so feelingly to me when I was taking my army corps to the West; "They are loyal, General; they are loyal." We found them so from Bridgeport, Ala., to Chattanooga, Tenn., and from Knoxville, Tenn., to Mill Spring, Ky. The idea of Lincoln's love for those mountaineers has impressed me more and more of late as I have been trying to help them to the privileges of which, by their location, they have hitherto been deprived. The Lincoln Memorial University at Cumberland Gap, which we are trying to make a worthy monument to our beloved Lincoln, declares that it "shall ever seek to make education possible to the children of the humble, common people, among whom Abraham Lincoln was born." What an inspiration in his name!

During the several times that Mr. Lincoln and I met I talked freely with him, though so much younger than he. At first, when I looked up to his face, so high above mine, I had the West Point awe of rank, elevation, and authority, but the instant he gave me his hand and spoke to me I felt as a child does to a kind father, and could express myself without embarrassment. I saw him in council, patient and listening; I saw him at the War department eager for news from the front; I saw him when in extreme sadness he came to the funeral of his friend, Senator (then Colonel) Baker, whose body had been brought from Ball's Bluff; I saw him reviewing the armies at Arlington Heights, Harper's Ferry, Falmouth, and Brook's Station, where he unpretentiously rode along with showy commanders, keenly observant of all that he thought might weaken his forces. I had him for a time in my own tent, where his manner, voice, and speech betokened sympathy and appreciation.

What can I say? Abraham Lincoln had a large brain and a larger heart. Like our Lord he could love his country and me. The humblest slave felt the touch of his sympathy and reciprocated his love. He lived and died to save his country; he lived and died to make men free and to make them better.

North Free from Hate and South from Dependence on Others, While Negro Is Liberated from Slavery.

By Booker T. Washington.

You ask one whom the great emancipator found a piece of property and left an American citizen to speak of Abraham Lincoln!

My first acquaintance with our hero and benefactor is this: Night after night, before the dawn of day, on an old slave plantation in Virginia, I recall the form of my sainted mother, bending over a batch of rags that enveloped my body, on a dirt floor, breathing a fervent prayer to heaven that "Marsa Lincoln" might succeed, and that one day she and I might be free. Be it far from me to revive the bitter memories of the past, nor would I narrow the work of Abraham Lincoln to the black race of this country; rather would I call him the emancipator of America—the liberator of the white man North, of the white man South; the one who, in unshackling the chains of the negro, has turned loose the enslaved forces of nature in the South, and has knit all sections of our country together by the indissoluble bonds of commerce.

To the man in the North, who cherished hatred against the South, Lincoln brought freedom. To the white man who landed at Jamestown years ago, with hopes as bright as those who stepped ashore on Plymouth Rock, Lincoln gave an opportunity to breathe the air of unfettered freedom—freedom from dependence on the labor of others—yea, to us all, the white race and mine, Lincoln has been a great emancipator.

But not all is done, and it remains for the living to finish the work that Lincoln left uncompleted. The great and prosperous North still owes a serious and uncompleted duty to its less fortunate brothers of the white race South, who are still suffering the consequence of American slavery. What was the task they were asked to perform? Returning to their destitute homes after years of war, they are asked to add to their burdens that of preparing in education, politics, and economics, in a few short years, for citizenship, four or five millions of former slaves. That the South, staggering under the burden, made blunders, that in some measure there has been disappointment, no one need be surprised.

The four million slaves that Lincoln freed are now nearly ten million freemen. That which was 300 years in doing can hardly be undone in thirty years. How can the North help the South and the negro in the completion of Lincoln's work? A large majority of the people Lincoln freed are still ignorant, without proper food or property or skill; are without the requisites for intelligent and independent citizenship.

An educated man standing on the corners of the streets of a city, with his hands in his pockets, is not one whit more benefit to society than an ignorant man on the streets with his hands in his pockets. It is only as the black man produces something that makes the markets of the world dependent on him for something that he secures his rightful place.

The struggle of Abraham Lincoln up from the lowest poverty and ignorance to the highest usefulness gives hope and inspiration to the negro. Like Lincoln, he is gathering strength from the obstacles he is mastering and overcoming.

No race in history ever has grown strong and useful except as it has had to battle against tremendous odds. Like Lincoln, the negro knows the meaning of the one-room cabin; he knows the bed of rags and hay; he knows what it is to be minus books and schoolhouse; he has tasted the lowliest poverty, but through them all he is making his way to the top. In the effort he is slowly but surely learning that the highest character of citizenship is in the spirit of self-denial, economy, thrift, and the ownership of property. These elements of strength will give him that manhood without which no race can stand permanently, and which no adverse influence can take from him.

Chicago Tribune
2/12/1900

NOW REVERE LINCOLN

Democrats' Change in Attitude as Compared to Dark Days of Civil War.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE VIEWS

Martyr Would Be Amused, Writes William E. Curtis, Could He Read Eulogies of To-day.

BY WILLIAM E. CURTIS.

[SPECIAL TO THE RECORD-HERALD.]

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16.—I often wonder what Abraham Lincoln would think and say if he could realize the changed attitude of the Democratic party toward him and his acts. Of late years the speeches of the leaders of that party and the writings of its editors are so full of quotations from his wisdom and they appear to place so much importance upon what he thought and said that one is a little bewildered when he remembers how they lampooned and slandered him at the time when he needed indorsement and support. Over in New York on Lincoln's birthday, and in Columbus and elsewhere, several speeches sounded very much as if the Democratic party had adopted Mr. Lincoln and was responsible for his election to the presidency and his preservation of the Union. I am sure that he would be reminded of several "little stories" if he could read the eulogies which prominent Democrats are pronouncing upon his memory to-day. He would be especially amused at some of the editorials appearing in the Democratic newspapers concerning his attitude toward negro suffrage of which there is not the slightest doubt.

At the last meeting of the cabinet on April 14, 1865, the morning of the day of his assassination, the question of giving the franchise to the negroes came up, and the diaries of several of his advisers contain full accounts of what he said. It was the last time he discussed public affairs, for he spent the rest of the day in recreation with his wife and son.

÷ ÷ ÷

It is also remarkable that the same subject should have been alluded to in his last public speech on the evening of April 11, which was attended by several unusual circumstances. Throughout his presidency Mr. Lincoln made it a rule not to discuss public questions in an informal manner, and when the people of Washington came to the White House on the evening after his return from Richmond with a band of music he appeared at the window, and in response to a demand for a speech said:

"I would much prefer having this demonstration take place to-morrow evening, as I would then be much better prepared to say

what I have to say than I am now or can be this evening. I therefore say to you that I shall be quite willing and I hope ready to say something then, whereas just now I am not ready to say anything that one in my position ought to say. Everything I say, you know, goes into print. If I make a mistake it doesn't merely affect me or you, but the country. I therefore ought at least to try not to make mistakes. If then a general demonstration be made to-morrow evening and it is agreeable I will endeavor to say something and not make a mistake, without at least trying carefully to avoid it."

The serenaders took the hint and returned the next evening to find Mr. Lincoln prepared with a speech upon the reorganization of the state government in Louisiana, in which negro suffrage is briefly referred to. He had written out his remarks with great care and it was the first time he had ever done so for a similar occasion. This is a significant fact and suggests that he must have had a premonition of his approaching fate. In that speech he does not directly advocate negro suffrage, but indorses the new constitution of Louisiana, which he says is a free state constitution, giving the benefit of public schools equally to black and white and empowering the legislature to confer the elective franchise upon the colored man.

He says: "They ask the nation's recognition and its assistance to make good that committal" and urges the people of the North to "encourage the hearts and nerve the arms of the 12,000 to adhere to their work and argue for it and proselyte for it and fight for it and feed it and grow it and ripen it to a complete success. The colored man, too, seeing all united for him, is inspired with vigilance and energy and daring to the same end. Grant that he desires the elective franchise, will he not attain it sooner by saving the already advanced steps toward it than by running backward over them."

÷ ÷ ÷

If anything further was needed to confirm Lincoln's attitude, a letter he wrote Michael Hahn, the first governor of reconstructed Louisiana, March 13, 1864, is conclusive. It reads as follows:

"Now you are about to have a convention which among other things will probably define the election franchise. I barely suggest for your private consideration whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help in some trying time to come to keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom. But this is only a suggestion, not to the public, but to you alone. Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

+ + +

1903

BOOKER T. MEETS HIS WHITE CHUM OF SLAVERY DAYS

Dramatic Incident of Lincoln
Day Banquet at Repub-
lican Club.

BOYS ON PLANTATION.

Roosevelt's Name Not Men-
tioned During Speeches
at the Dinner.

The name of President Roosevelt, a member of the club, was not mentioned once during the twenty-third annual Lincoln dinner of the Republican Club at the Waldorf-Astoria last night, but the incident most discussed to-day by those who attended is the impressive reference made by Booker T. Washington, the guest of honor and recognized leader of the negro race, to the grandson of the noted negro's former owner during slave times.

The dinner was distinctively a Lincoln affair. A toast was drunk to "The President," but his name was not heard, although Taft's name was mentioned, as were those of Grant, Sherman, Garfield, McKinley and others. Once there was laughter when Representative Burton, of Ohio, talking of Lincoln, said the country had had other Presidents who had been "more aggressive and more dominating in their opinions," which was regarded as a reference to President Roosevelt.

Booker T. Washington was responding to the toast "Abraham Lincoln" when he turned dramatically to A. H. Burroughs, well known as a corporation attorney, who was at the President's table, and said:

Played and Fought Together.

"There sits a man who is the grandson of Joseph Burroughs, who was my owner down in Franklin County, Va., when I was a slave. He and I played together as children, fought and wept, laughed and sobbed together. He was the white boy, I was the black boy, on that old plantation.

"He liked me then and he likes me yet. I liked him then and I like him now. But until this week I have not met Abe Burroughs since one day away back in 1863. It came to my frightened ears that old 'Massa' Burroughs, his grandfather and my owner, had been killed.

"There was a skirmish and the Federal troops, I was told, had shot him. I was frightened. I rushed home and told Abe and he and I cried together. Our hearts were broken. That is a long while ago. But here is Abe and here am I, and we meet to-night at a banquet board in the greatest city in the world

to celebrate the centennial of the birth of the man who set us both free. I mean that Abraham Lincoln set Mr. Burroughs free when he set me free."

First Heard of Lincoln.

The noted negro was applauded freely throughout his speech, in which he said:

"My first knowledge of Abraham Lincoln came in this way: I was awakened early one morning before the dawn of day as I lay wrapped in a bundle of rags on the dirt floor of our slave cabin by the prayers of my mother, just before leaving for her day's work, as she was kneeling over my body earnestly praying that Abraham Lincoln might succeed and that one day she and her boy might be free. You give me the opportunity here this evening to celebrate with you and the nation the answer to that prayer.

More Than the Negroes Freed.

an individual, grateful as I am to Lincoln for freedom of body, my attitude is still greater for freedom of soul. The signing of the Emancipation Proclamation was a great event, and yet it was but the symbol of another, still greater, and more momentous. We who celebrate this anniversary should not forget that the same pen that gave freedom to four millions of African slaves, at the same time struck the shackles from the souls of twenty-seven millions of Americans of another color.

"The world is fast learning that of all forms of slavery there is none that is so hurtful and degrading as that form of slavery which tempts one human being to hate another by reason

of his race or color. One man cannot hold another man down in the ditch without remaining down in the ditch with him.

Praises Southern Generals.

"In paying my tribute to the Great Emancipator of my race, I desire to say a word here and now in behalf of an element of brave and true white men of the South who, though they saw in Lincoln's policy the ruin of all they believed in and hoped for, have loyally accepted the results of the civil war and are to-day working with a courage few people in the North can understand to uplift the negro in the South and complete the emancipation that Lincoln began."

The banquet room at the Waldorf was elaborately and tastefully decorated for the occasion. At the President's table Charles H. Young occupied the central chair. The others there were William

L. Ward, L. A. Coolidge, Charles H. Treat, Col. John J. McCook, Chancellor MacCracken, Dr. Howard Duffield, Booker T. Washington, Theodore E. Burton, James Francis Burke, Dr. David H. Greer, Levi P. Morton, Geo. R. Sheldon, Herbert Parsons, Louis Stern, Gen. Henry E. Tremain and A. H. Burroughs. The first address of the evening was by Theodore E. Burton, of Cleveland, recently elected to succeed Joseph B. Foraker in the Senate.

Box 1, 1909 Feb. 13, 1909

THE NEGRO AND LINCOLN.

The Assembly of the great State of New York listened yesterday to a few words from one of the race beneficiaries of Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, Edward A. Johnson, a Negro member, the first Negro member of the Assembly, elected from the Nineteenth Manhattan District. He is a man of education and of cultivation. He said:

I was one of a family of eleven, born in Raleigh, North Carolina, and belonged to a man who owned thirty slaves. When I was four years old, my father and mother and my ten brothers and sisters were set free by President Lincoln's Proclamation. A few years later, as a young boy, instead of being sold to another plantation, I was able to study at night, and soon entered Washington School.

That was what freedom meant, the door of opportunity opened to the exceptional person in temperament and capacity. What it meant to the masses is debated, if not debatable, from our Northern point of view. Civil rights for the blacks in this State are partly established. The Court of Appeals, which has decided that they may not demand service in saloons, has just reached the ruling that they may demand admission to dance halls. The restaurant decisions are mostly in their favor.

But the same day that Johnson was speaking, a helpless Negro, suspected but unconvicted of crime, was taken out by a mob, chained to a tree, prodded with red-hot irons till he "confessed," and was then burned at the stake, in Estill Springs, Tenn. Was he guilty? Nobody knows. Anyone of us might confess to anything under the same conditions. What is sure is that slavery had no horrors worse than this, and could have had none.

The Negro himself has never questioned, however, his debt to Abraham Lincoln. And perhaps he is right, for opportunity opened to the exceptional person is the eventual opening of opportunity to a whole race, though the process may be delayed for generations. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle 2-13-18*

3-10-1925
Ill State Register 2-12-1925

Three Aged Women, Former Slaves, Pay Tribute to Lincoln

BOSTON, Feb. 12.—(I. N. S.)—

The Spirit of Abraham Lincoln hovered today about three aged women—formerly slaves—at St Monica's home in Roxbury.

Nowhere was his memory on his birthday honored with greater adoration than in the humble, silent reverence of these women.

One of them, Fannie Banks, is believed by the Catholic sisters at the home to be 117 years of age.

"God and Lincoln were good to me," she said today. "Lincoln set me free so's I could work for myself and have shoes for my feet."

The other ex-slaves are Amanda Shephard, 87, and Louisa Green, 83.

LAUNCH FUND TO ERECT MEMORIAL TO FREED WOMAN

June 5, 1929
Movement to Perpetuate
Memory of Sojourner Truth
Given Impetus in Meeting.

REMINISCENCES GIVEN

Mayor Bailey and L. B. Anderson Recall Early Impressions Of Famous Character.

BY NELLIE BROWNE DUFF

A bronze reproduction of the famous painting of Abraham Lincoln and Sojourner Truth by Frank C. Courter was proposed at the Sunday afternoon meeting in the Sanitarium Union building as the form which the Battle Creek memorial to the noted colored woman should take.

Should Be Enduring

The proposal was brought out in the talk by L. B. Anderson who discussed the monument the Sojourner Truth Memorial association has undertaken to erect to the memory of the noted colored woman. Addressing a meeting of 200 persons, white and colored, assembled Sunday for the purpose of launching the memorial, Mr. Anderson termed in a fitting thing that such a memorial should be erected at or near the grave of Sojourner Truth in Oak Hill cemetery, and declared that it should be worked out in something more enduring than marble.

Painting Was Destroyed

The picture of Lincoln and the famous former slave who became known throughout the nation as a worker for her race and as a lecturer and preacher, gaining the friendship of the great and lowly, was painted in Battle Creek. The artist was Frank C. Courter who lived in the city at that time and now resides in the east. The painting hung in the Sanitarium and was destroyed when the Sanitarium burned.

Discovery that the Bible presented to President Lincoln by Sojourner Truth on behalf of the colored people of the nation as a token of their gratitude is now the property of Fisk university at Nashville, Tenn., was another interesting feature of the Sunday afternoon meeting. The Bible was presented to the university, one of the big institutions of the country for colored people, by Robert Todd Lincoln, son of the Emancipator.

This information was given in a letter from an instructor of the university to Mrs. J. H. Lewis, president of the Sojourner Truth Memorial association. The instructor, Mrs. Dora A. Scribner, had seen a newspaper article asking where the Bible could be found. Mrs. Lewis read her letter to the meeting.

An Historic Bible

Passages were read from this Bible on all commencement programs of Fisk university until the back cover of the volume fell off. Then the Bible was carefully wrapped and placed in safekeeping at the university. It is covered with purple plush, Mrs. Scribner wrote, with a plate giving the essential facts about its presentation by Sojourner Truth at Baltimore, and inside is a parchment bearing the names of all those who had a share in its gift to President Lincoln.

Pledges were received at the meeting, held at 2:45 o'clock Sunday afternoon at the Sanitarium Union building, from those who wished to contribute to the memorial fund as a start. No money was collected, the contributors designating the banks at which they wish to make payment and the date. The pledges were from a dollar to \$100.

Nucleus of Fund

These will form a nucleus, the type of monument to be decided when the Memorial association finds itself with some money on hand and can make plans accordingly. Those citizens who wish to contribute may do so at their banks, and meanwhile a canvass is to be instituted among the colored people of the city.

Sojourner Truth was credited with a strong influence in the emancipation of the slaves by Mayor John W. Bailey, speaker at the Sunday afternoon meeting, who talked on My Knowledge of Sojourner Truth, gained from his acquaintance with her when he was a child and young man. Sojourner Truth lived next door to the Bailey home on College street at that time. Mayor Bailey described Sojourner Truth and gave her history so far as it can be established.

Became Noted Figure

"She had no education, not even that of the common school. She could neither read nor write. She wanted to know what was in the books she heard other people talk about, and asked the young people of the neighborhood to read them to her. But, untaught as she was, she had a wonderful brain, a great natural ability, and the circumstances of her life had made such a profound impression upon her that she became a noted figure in spite of her humble origin and her lack of advantages," Mayor Bailey said.

"Where did she get her knowledge of God, her ability to speak and influence people, and the power and authority that was hers? I think the answer can be found in Henry Waterson's answer to a similar query about Abraham Lincoln. That great editor, when such a query was put to him, replied, 'From God, and God alone.'

"It is wonderful to think that this woman, born in slavery, losing her parents and brothers and sisters through that evil, and even her own children, who never even went to school, should have the innate ability to lift herself to the position she reached, to travel, lecturing to white audiences all over the country, going even to Washington where she was received by presidents, and being accorded the friendship of great people. It is fitting

that Battle Creek, where she lived and died and lies buried, should erect a memorial to her."

Gives Own Recollections

Mr. Anderson gave his own recollection of Sojourner Truth, of seeing her, when he was a child, sitting peacefully smoking her pipe on the doorstep of her home.

"At that time she was said to be more than a hundred years old, and was a person of great interest to me," Mr. Anderson said. "The people of her race here in Battle Creek are to be congratulated on the move they have started to erect a monument to her memory, replacing the tombstone on her grave which has fallen into decay, and perpetuating her memory. This monument should take permanent form, be executed in something more lasting than marble."

The reminiscences of Mrs. Minnie Merritt Fay were most interesting. Mrs. Fay was present at the meeting, but did not speak, her paper being read by Mary Ellen Butler, young colored girl.

Was Welcome Guest

Sojourner Truth lived for a time in the Merritt home and was always a welcome guest there, Mrs. Fay related. "The fact that she was welcome, at our table, was sometimes criticised," she said. Mrs. Fay's father was Sojourner Truth's friend, and when the time came that Sojourner Truth needed a home, Mr. Merritt had the logs for it cut out of Merritt's Woods.

J. H. Brown made a short talk, among those who gave reminiscences. Persons who had known Sojourner Truth, or remembered her, were asked to stand and about 40 responded. Payton Grayson who is the only remaining colored person in Battle Creek brought to the city by Sojourner Truth when she arranged for the coming of freed slaves to the west, out of the crowded freedmen's camps of the east, was introduced by Mrs. J. H. Lewis, chairman of the meeting.

The impersonation of Sojourner Truth by Mrs. Nellie Stone Lane, colored reader of Madison, Wis., was a powerful bit of work. Mrs. Lane read Harriet Beecher Stowe's account of her meeting with Sojourner Truth, as contained in an article in Century Magazine, in which Sojourner Truth's finding of Jesus was dramatically described. Mrs. Lane was introduced by Mrs. Henrietta Johns, vice president of the Memorial association.

Two violin solos were played by Raymond Robbins, nine-year-old colored boy. Caryl Dennis and Lois Redden played piano solos, Charles Strawder sang, with violin accompaniment by Gwendolyn Redden, and the Men's Jubilee chorus, colored, sang several numbers. Mrs. Berthinia Cunningham gave a reading of The Pilot by Howell.

The unexpected appearance of Professor Hickman, colored concert singer of St. Paul, was of interest. He sang two songs effectively. Community singing at the opening of the program was led by E. M. Barnes of Kalamazoo, and the invocation and benediction were pronounced by the Rev. E. L. Todd, pastor of Second Baptist church.

Lincoln and the Negro

SOME men are great in the sight of their fellowmen, but small in the sight of God; and some men, lowly in the sight of their fellowmen, are great in the sight of God. Of John the Baptist it was written, "He shall be called great in the sight of God." But he was not great in the sight of the men of his age who imprisoned and slew him.

Lincoln was great in the sight of his fellowmen. He is one of the two great Americans, and to most people he is *the* great American. But of him more than can be said of Washington, Lincoln was one of the greatest of the world's great. The highest in all lands honor him. In the cabins of the lowly of almost every nation may be found the story of his life and the picture of his rugged, seamed face, with its pathetic eyes, the mark of a great heart, as well as a great mind. Because Lincoln lived, these lowly look forward to a time when they, too, shall have enfranchisement and opportunity. But he was great in the sight of God. To that God, of whom earlier in his life he was uncertain and concerning whom he might have been indifferent, he was driven by the stern needs of his great task; and to that God he was drawn with the continually increasing hunger of his burdened heart. Lincoln is great both in the sight of God and man.

He was great at many moments. He was great in the slow but clear thinking with which he met and solved the con-

tinual problems of army and state during those dreadful times. He was great in the way in which he never allowed the artificialities which surrounded his high position blind his eyes to its deep realities. From the earliest moment of his childhood he had faced life too honestly and too often for that. But he was greatest in that moment toward which he moved slowly, it may be reluctantly—the moment of emancipation. It is sometimes difficult for us to understand why he delayed it so long, but when we study the times and his whole task, we know. The fullness of time must come. Sooner, it would have been inopportune and futile, a sad failure. Later, it might have been impossible. But when that fullness of time did come and the great clock of eternity struck, then he risked all and to the document which is as significant as any in human history he signed his name; and a new day for a great race had begun.

In the Methodist Church Lincoln's birthday has been from the first, and will

be to the end, associated with the Negro race. This association is no mistake of eager propagandists concerned in forwarding the cause to which they have given their whole life. It is the correct intuition of those who see that in the name of Christ and under the inspiration of Lincoln we must set ourselves to finish the great work to which our predecessors have given a full measure of devotion—the work of giving every child in that great race an opportunity to become his fullest best self.



United States
of America

(NOT PRINTED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE)

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 111

WASHINGTON, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1965

No. 35

House of Representatives

Abe Lincoln In Humboldt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 23, 1965

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, in the wake of the Lincoln's Birthday celebration throughout the United States, a daily newspaper in my district, the Humboldt Standard, published an editorial that I felt was most fitting. While this area is still reeling economically from the major blow dealt by December floods, it paused to give recognition to a situation of which Abraham Lincoln would be very proud. With unanimous consent I place this editorial in the Record so that it may be appreciated by all:

ABE LINCOLN IN HUMBOLDT

In the little valley of Nolin's Creek, a few miles from Hodgenville, Ky., on this date in the year 1809, a boy was born in a small, makeshift cabin. Tom and Nancy Lincoln named him Abraham.

The little three-sided log cabin still stands, sheltered now by a marble monument.

One hundred years ago, on April 14, 1865, Abraham Lincoln was martyred in Ford's Theater in Washington, D.C. One century—and "the great task remaining before us" still remains, especially in the Deep South.

But Abraham Lincoln must have observed, from his present vantage place the realization of his dreams with the presence here for the past 7 weeks of the details from the 6th Army.

The commanding officer of the Helicopter Control Center here, and of all helicopter operations, was Col. Charles Bussey—a Negro who is also an officer and a gentleman. Other Negro officers, and some of other races, gave orders to white junior officers and enlisted men. Those orders were obeyed, not

only without question, but without resentment or hesitancy.

The color line has vanished.

All of the Negro officers and enlisted men who served here in the fully integrated command were received by Humboldt County residents not only as saviors, but as welcome guests.

We can only wonder what would have happened had this disaster struck Mississippi and Alabama, with the same rescue units sent to save the populace there?

All of America can take a lesson from the men of the 6th Army.

Abraham Lincoln would have understood, and been grateful.

He could not help but be gratified that his name remains, a century later a symbol of freedom, compassion and selfless dedication to his country.

He could understand better than most that the President of the United States must be resigned to ceaseless criticism and open hostility even as he receives worldwide recognition of his leadership and power.

He might find comfort in seeing that after generations of stagnation the great issue which split the Nation in his day is at last being resolved at an ever-quicken pace.

And in his wisdom he would comprehend that the differences which now confuse his country and engulf the world can in truth be composed through the same patient understanding and love of fellow men that have made Abraham Lincoln timeless and immortal.

A grateful nation again observes the birthday of a giant. It does it with respect and reverence, regardless of race, creed, or politics.

MEMORIES OF MY YOUTH (1926-1933) WHITLER

Lithograph of Abe Lincoln by W. C. SMITH, Sc., CA 1862



course of pursuing rapid economic expansion.

The crux of these problems was that out of an eagerness to expedite economic growth, excessive investments were made, especially in heavy and chemical industries, leading to accelerated inflation. This was coupled with adverse external factors, especially higher costs for imported energy. The government at that time tried to fight inflation by imposing price controls, rather than readjusting the pace of economic growth. Moreover, the government did not hesitate to arrange preferential bank loans to spur investment in heavy and chemical industries. In consequence, the Korean economy during those days was distorted by a questionable pattern of resource allocation and by a weakened mar-

ket mechanism as well.

Can you avoid making similar mistakes?

In operating economic policies from now on, I intend to build, first of all, a solid foundation for economic stability and seek growth on that basis. As you know, the force of inflation in Korea was such that wholesale prices jumped 44 per cent in 1980. The government pledged itself to reduce the inflation rate or 20 or 25 per cent this year. As matters stand now, I anticipate the price increase rate to remain below the 20 per cent level for the entire year of 1981. It should be noted that such a reduction in inflation is being achieved in spite of the fact that the bulk of price controls were removed this year. Only by

maintaining stability in that manner it will be possible to reinforce the market mechanism and let the economy be operated primarily on private initiative. This will insure more efficient and effective allocation of resources and improved productivity throughout the Korean economy.

Aside from concentrating on inflation and economic efficiency, what other measures do you have in mind?

The present administration is especially concerned about satisfying the basic needs of the people and achieving more equitable income distribution. In my thinking, two goals are, on the whole, complementary to, rather than competitive with, economic growth. In my definition of needs I include price stability, greater opportunities for education at all levels, better housing and more and better medical care. The availability of greater educational opportunities not only serves as the structural basis for an equitable distribution of income, but also will ease the shortage of technical manpower, currently a major bottleneck to Korean development. Better housing and better medical care will enhance the well being of citizens and reduce the pressure for higher wages, a critical requisite for a continued expansion of exports.

Lastly, I must add that I will see that our economic policies are not distorted by extraneous factors, such as political pressures, as is often the case in many developing countries. It is my unwavering conviction that the economy must be operated according to economic considerations and judgments.

One economic problem you may face then is balancing the need for growth and employment with the need to reduce the inflation rate. How much "pain" in the form of unemployment and slow growth — are you willing to tolerate to reduce inflation? For example, is there a certain level of unemployment that you would consider "intolerable?"

I do not accept the basic premise of your question. Even in the short run, I do not believe there is as much of a trade-off between employment and inflation as you seem to suggest. Our rate of inflation last year was at least twice as high as the year's, but our level of unemployment last year is no higher than it was last year. In fact, this year it is expected to be lower, about 5 per cent, as compared to 5.2 per cent last year.

The government has said many times that it plans to liberalize the economy, and yet companies still must have government approval for major investments, particularly those that require foreign capital. How far will the liberalization really go?

True, some private investment projects will

Abraham Lincoln and human rights in Korea

Kaplan: Whom do you admire most in history?

Chun: Any answer to that kind of question reveals much about the person who is answering the question. The answer depends on where one is and has been, or on his background. I

would say Abraham Lincoln, because he grew up in poverty to become a man of great ideals and even greater deeds. He helped a nation to weather a crisis of civil war. He was a man of compassion and justice, a man of action as he freed the slaves and persuaded his countrymen to overcome racial injustice. He became a lawyer by his own effort. I was a general, never a lawyer, so I am different. But I did not inherit the generalship, either. I read a biography of Lincoln as a youngster and then again as a cadet. I understood then he was a hero of the people, a symbolic figure.

Then it must disturb you that the U.S. State Department has criticized Korea for alleged human rights violations and press censorship.


Such charges may have been made in the past, but nobody familiar with the Korean situation today will repeat such allegations.

But do critical discussions on the human rights question in Korea disturb you?

Everywhere the situation is more or less different and everywhere people have ideals. Everywhere there exists a gap between the reality and the ideal. We had in the past situations that warranted such discussions on this important issue. I know, too, that human rights should rightly be a matter of universal concern. Each society should be aware of the issues. Sometimes a perception of human rights problems in one's own country is projected abroad. No, I am not upset. Criticism springing from a sense of justice should never upset anyone in a position of leadership.



illustrations by Sam Viviano



COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND HISTORY: How Abraham Lincoln Became a Symbol of Racial Equality

Barry Schwartz*

*Department of Sociology
University of Georgia
Athens, GA 30602*

Abraham Lincoln's changing relation to the African American community of memory is a means of addressing unresolved problems in the work of Maurice Halbwachs. Many sociologists, beginning with Halbwachs, have recognized that commemorative symbolism creates new images of the past, but the process by which this occurs has never been closely studied. I draw on a variety of sources, including Lincoln Day observances, press commentary, oratory, cartoons, and prints, in my effort to understand how commemorative symbolism works. During the past century, no new information about Lincoln's racial attitudes has appeared; yet commemorative pairing and coupling mechanisms and their resulting commemorative networks have transformed him from a conservative symbol of the status quo during the Jim Crow era into the personification of racial justice and equality during the New Deal and the civil rights movement. Since the symbolic devices employed to depict Lincoln are shaped by the very historical record they transcend, however, Halbwachs's distinction between fact-based history and symbol-based commemoration must be modified.

At the dedication of the Lincoln Memorial on May 31, 1922, Union Army veterans, dressed in their blue uniforms, stood beside gray-clad Confederate Army veterans. President Warren Harding noted in his address that Abraham Lincoln would have been thrilled to know that "the states of the Southland joined sincerely in honoring him." Chief Justice and former President William Howard Taft, the second speaker, emphasized Harding's point. The Lincoln Memo-

**Item available in the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection at the
Allen County Public Library, Fort Wayne, Indiana**

For contact information, go to www.LincolnCollection.org.

The Sociological Quarterly, Volume 38, Number 3, pages 469-496.

Copyright © 1997 by The Midwest Sociological Society.

All rights reserved. Send requests for permission to reprint to:

Rights and Permissions, University of California Press, Journals Division, 2120 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, CA 94720.

ISSN: 0038-0253.

